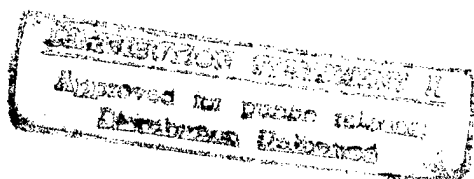


**A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON CURRENT
INDOCHINESE ISSUES**

February 1986

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Author: Ronald Cima



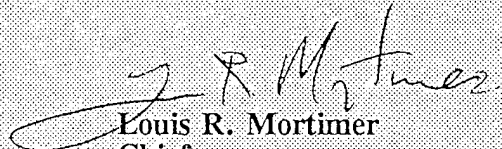
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PREFACE

This bibliography provides selective annotations of open-source material on three current Indochina-related issues:

- * Thailand's political strategy for solving the Cambodian question
- * tactics and organization of Khmer/Laotian resistance groups
- * the war in Cambodia

This bibliography incorporates serials and monographs received in the previous month and is part of a continuing series on the above subjects.

Entries are arranged alphabetically by author or title. Library of Congress call numbers, where appropriate, are included to facilitate the recovery of works cited.

GLOSSARY

ANS	Armee Nationale Sihanoukiste (Sihanoukist National Army)
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CGDK	Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea
DK	Democratic Kampuchea (Khmer Rouge)
FUNCINPEC	National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia
KCP	Khmer Communist Party
KPNLF	Khmer People's National Liberation Front (Son Sann)
KPRAF	Khmer People's Revolutionary Armed Forces
KR	Khmer Rouge (Pol Pot)
KUFNCD	Khmer United Front for National Construction and Defense (PRK)
<u>Naeo Na</u>	<u>Progressive</u> [lit: moving in new directions]
PAVN	People's Army of Vietnam
PCCS	Provisional Central Committee for Salvation (KPNLF)
PERMICO	Permanent Military Committee for Coordination (KPNLF and ANS)
PRK	People's Republic of Kampuchea
PRPK	People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, aka KPRP (Khmer People's Revolutionary Party)
RTG	Royal Thai Government

Siam Rat

SPK

SRV

Su Anakhot

Thai Nation

News Agency of the PRK

Socialist Republic of Vietnam

Forward [lit: going toward the
future]

1. THAILAND'S POLITICAL STRATEGY FOR SOLVING
THE CAMBODIAN QUESTION

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"Cambodian Refugees Moved; Athit Declares Alert." Bangkok Post,
5 January 1985, pp 1,3.

Thai Army Commander in Chief General Athit Kamlang-ek tells reporters that Thai security forces have been placed on full alert along the Thai-Cambodian border as a precaution against possible Vietnamese incursions. More than 1,400 Khmer civilians were evacuated from the KPNLF civilian camp, O-bok, as a similar precaution.

"Jets Get Set." Far Eastern Economic Review (Hong Kong), vol. 130, No. 45, 14 November 1985, p. 11. HC 411. F18

With an eye toward possible escalation of conflict along the Thai-Cambodian border, the Royal Thai Air Force is upgrading the capacity of its two squadrons of F5E jet fighters. Under a three-year contract with the US Air Force which began in June, the Thais are adding inertial navigation and other avionic equipment which will improve the F5Es' air-to-ground attack capability.

"Minister Sitthi On PRC, SRV Ties; Rules Out Attack on PRK."
Naeo Na (Bangkok), 21 September 1985, pp 8, 9. In
JPRS-SEA-85-177, 15 November 1985, pp. 65-67.

In an interview, Thai Foreign Minister Sitthi states that Thailand will not get involved in Cambodia. Thai policy, he explains, is to defend itself and not take any action outside its borders.

2. TACTICS AND ORGANIZATION OF KHMER/LAOTIAN RESISTANCE GROUPS

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Adler, Michael. "Sihanouk's Son on Use of Guerrilla Tactics." Bangkok Post, 3 January 1986, p. 5.

Prince Norodom Ranarit, son of Prince Sihanouk, states that Sihanouk has moved to inject punch into the flagging non-Communist Cambodian resistance by positioning a handpicked force of 600 guerrillas near Phnom Penh. The fighters are said to be free of the normal command structure of Sihanouk's army and are expected to live in-country and recruit from the Cambodian population.

Bekaert, Jacques. "Leadership Changes In Khmer Rouge Forces Examined." Bangkok Post, 5 October 1985, p. 18.

Although the change in Khmer Rouge leadership-promoting Son Sen and Khieu Samphan was dated 24 August 1985, not a word of it was mentioned during the cabinet meeting of the coalition government on 28 August. Prince Sihanouk and Son Sann received the news when it was made public on 20 September. In examining the reasons for the change, other than cosmetic, Bekaert mentions the possibility of a power struggle between Pol Pot, his allies, two other members of the now defunct military committee (Ta Mok and Ke Pauk) and the forces of Khieu Samphan and Son Sen. Bekaert's source states that "it boiled down to the question of who did control most troops and it seemed that the two new leaders had the upper hand."

Bekaert, Jacques. "Factions 'Optimistic.'" Bangkok Post, 24 December 1985, p. 1.

Conflicting factions within the KPNLF are optimistic that an agreement to rebuild the shattered unity of the organization may be reached at a meeting scheduled for 24 December. "Proximity talks" on the issue began on 21 December and were reported to be progressing.

"Cambodians at Odds." New York Times, 5 January 1986, p. E2.

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Reports that the KPNLF is wracked by what its leader Son Sann calls "open rebellion." Although Son Sann stated in Bangkok that he had "put an end" to the mutiny, a KPNLF official says that the leader is no longer able to visit the camps near the Thai-Cambodian border where most of his followers live. The dissidents, who include military officers, say they need a clearer mandate to pursue the guerrilla war without political interference. "The situation in Cambodia is becoming ripe for insurrection," states dissident spokesman Abdul Gaffar Peang Meth. "We have to push as many troops as possible inside."

Crossette, Barbara. "Dissidents Claiming Control of Cambodia Guerrilla Group." New York Times, 30 December 1985, p. A4.

A breakaway group trying to seize control of the KPNLF says it now controls the organization's civilian border camps as well as its army. Although there have been no reported changes of administration in the border camps, several camp administrators have said they would not welcome a visit from Son Sann.

Crossette, Barbara. "Rift Seen in Cambodia Guerrilla Force." New York Times, 3 December 1985, p. A3.

Reports that a rift in the KPNLF has immobilized 15,000 fighters. A group of its leaders have openly rebelled against Son Sann as a result of their dissatisfaction with his tactical command, especially since Vietnamese troops overran the Front's bases inside Cambodia last winter.

de Rienzo, Joseph. "Leadership Squabbling Said to Sap KPNLF Strength." Bangkok Post, 5 October 1985, p. 18.

The KPNLF is ineffective because of leadership squabbles stemming from Son Sann's sacking of Executive Committee members Hing Kunthon and Abdul Gaffar Peang Meth. Son Sann fired the two men for insubordination but sources state

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that his aversion to closer cooperation with Prince Sihanouk's guerrilla faction is the real issue.

Kittinaradon, Somphong. "A Change in Leadership, a Takeover or a Coup." The Nation (Bangkok), 21 December 1985, pp. 4, 5. In FBIS (Asia & Pacific), 23 December 1985, pp. H3-H5.

The rift in the KPNLF leadership can be traced back several months. In August, President Son Sann dismissed two dissident figures from the then nine-member Executive Committee (EXCO), the supreme organ of the movement. Son Sann had earlier charged the two, Dr. Abdul Gaffar Peang Meth and Hing Kunthon with "ganging up against him." Some believe that Gaffar may have pushed too hard the concept of non-communist cooperation, something apparently unacceptable to Son Sann. Another contributing factor may have been the splinter group's perception that Son Sann intended to replace General Sak and General Dien Del with his men, General Thach Reng and Colonel Sangva De Lopez.

"KPNLF Comments On Rainy Season Activity." The Nation (Bangkok), 29 October 1985, p. 5. In JPRS-SEA-85-183, 2 December 1985, p. 5.

Khmer resistance forces report that heavy rains have delayed a Vietnamese plan to start military operations against Cambodian resistance guerrillas. According to the sources, Vietnamese forces had planned to launch their dry-season campaign in the middle of October but the ground is still too soft to move hardware such as heavy artillery and tanks.

"KPNLF Dissidents Say Son Sann Falsified Charges." Bangkok Post, 3 January 1986, p. 3. In FBIS (Asia & Pacific), 3 January 1986, pp. H1, H2.

Members of the Provisional Central Committee for Salvation (PCCS), a dissident group of the KPNLF, have accused

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supporters of Son Sann of falsifying documents defaming dissident leader Abdul Gaffar Peang Meth. The documents in question accused Gaffar of diverting foreign aid from Muslim countries intended for Khmer Muslims.

"KPNLF Factions Form Joint Military Command." The Nation (Bangkok), 7 January 1986, p. 5. In FBIS (Asia & Pacific), 7 January 1986, pp. H6, H7.

KPNLF dissident leaders Dr. Gaffar Abdul Peang Meth and Gen. Sak Sutsakhan tell US Congressman Stephen Solarz, following his meeting with KPNLF President Son Sann, that with the recently created joint military command to direct the two non-communist Khmer resistance forces, the KPNLF plans to step up "deep penetration" into Cambodia this year. The two leaders also suggested that the five million dollars in American aid earmarked for the two non-communist forces be channelled through the newly formed joint military command.

"KPNLF Factions Meet In Bangkok For Talks." The Nation (Bangkok), 23 December 1985, p. 1. In FBIS (Asia & Pacific), 26 December 1985, pp. H1, H2.

KPNLF dissident group states that it will meet with Son Sann at his convenience to seek a "political solution" to their conflict. A meeting of the two sides is expected to take place soon.

"KPNLF Loyalists Seek 'Peaceful Solution' to Split." The Nation (Bangkok), 22 December 1985, p. 1. In FBIS (Asia & Pacific), 23 December 1985, pp. H2, H3.

Loyalists in the trouble-plagued KPNLF are seeking a "peaceful solution" with a rebel group headed by General Sak Sutsakhan. According to a loyalist spokesman, both sides have as their priority the fight against the Vietnamese. Meanwhile, a spokesman for the other side

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states that since the takeover, Khmer communities in the US have sent messages of support.

"KPNLF Splinter Group Claims Control Of Faction." The Nation (Bangkok), 20 December 1985, pp.1-2. In FBIS (Asia & Pacific), 20 December 1985, pp. H1, H2.

Two leading members of a dissident faction of the KPNLF claim that the attempt to wrest power from Son Sann is a success. They also claim that the Front's "elders" in France support the "take-over." Former Khmer Prime Minister Huy Kanthoul, a member of the so-called Council of Elderly Men, and group spokesman Abdul Gaffar Peang Meth, state that KPNLF Commander in Chief General Sak Sutsakhan heads the new party and KPNLF Chief of Staff General Dien Del is also among the leaders.

"Proximity Talks 'Deadlocked.'" The Nation (Bangkok), 25 December 1985, pp. 1-2. In FBIS (Asia & Pacific), 26 December 1985, p. H3.

The "proximity talks" between rival factions in the KPNLF are reported to have deadlocked in the 24 December 1985 meeting. The dissident group, led by General Sak Sutsakhan, stated that it was more interested in devoting efforts to fighting the Vietnamese than to negotiating with the Son Sann faction. A Khmer source stated that Son Sann had refused to be a "ceremonial leader" of the KPNLF and that he had demanded the removal of dissident leaders Gaffar and Hing as a condition for reconciliation.

Ratthamarit, Praphaiphon. "Exclusive Interview of Son Sann." Bangkok Post, 27 December 1985, p. 5.

In an interview with Son Sann on the internal dispute within the KPNLF, Sann says that the conflict is on the way to being resolved.

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"Sihanouk Son Clarifies Army Coordination Unit." Bangkok Post, 29 October 1985, p. 4.

Prince Sihanouk's son, Norodom Ranarit, writes a letter to the Post clarifying a point reported in an article published on 24 October 1985. Ranarit explains that there is not a "joint permanent military command" for the two non-Communist Khmer resistance movements but a "Permanent Military Committee for Coordination (PERMICO)." PERMICO is a body composed of equal representation from both the KPNLF and FUNCINPEC (National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia). Its president is General Sak Sutsakhan (KPNLF) and its vice president is General Teap Ben (FUNCINPEC).

"Sihanouk Still Recognizes Son Sann as DK Premier." The Nation (Bangkok), 22 December 1985, p. 1. In FBIS (Asia & Pacific), 23 December 1985, p. H2.

Prince Sihanouk states that he continues to recognize Son Sann as his coalition's prime minister and hopes that the KPNLF can stay united.

"Sihanoukist Forces Claim 7,408 In Interior." The Nation (Bangkok), 3 January 1986, p.3. In FBIS (Asia & Pacific), 3 January 1986, p. H3.

The Sihanoukist force claims that up to 7,408 troops of its movement have penetrated the inland areas of Cambodia as deep as Phnom Penh. A spokesman says that because of the military initiatives taken by the resistance forces, the Vietnamese dry-season offensive against resistance forces has been delayed.

"Son Sann Declares Rebel PCCS Banned From KPNLF." Agence France Presse (Hong Kong), 3 January 1986, broadcast in English. In FBIS (Asia & Pacific), 6 January 1986, pp. H3, H4.

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Son Sann declares that a dissident faction of his KPNLF known as the Provisional Central Committee of Salvation (PCCS) is banned from the KPNLF. It is not clear what effect, if any, this first official act by Son Sann against the dissidents will have on the standoff, which has immobilized 15,000 guerrilla fighters.

"Son Sann Reported Kept From Visiting KPNLF Camps." Bangkok Post, 4 January 1986, p. 3.

Son Sann states that he has been prevented from visiting KPNLF camps on the Thai-Cambodian border. Although dissidents have claimed control of the KPNLF, it is not clear what precisely is preventing him from visiting his followers. Meanwhile, representatives of the KPNLF and the ANS agreed to meet to form a joint military command.

"Son Sann Set To Overhaul Front." Bangkok Post, 24 October 1985, p. 1.

Son Sann will soon oversee a reorganization of the KPNLF and has already given Commander in Chief General Sak Sutsakhan the authority to overhaul the front's military arm. The report indicates that the move may see the ousting of Abdul Gaffar Peang Meth from the joint permanent military command between the front and Prince Sihanouk's FUNCINPEC. The reorganization and the apparent replacement of dissidents from the front's administrative bodies follow statements that Son Sann is an obstacle to efforts to coordinate the two non communist factions.

"Son Sann Urged to Patch KPNLF Before Dry Season." The Nation (Bangkok), 21 December 1985, p. 1. In FBIS (Asia & Pacific), 23 December 1985, p. H1.

Son Sann abruptly postponed a news conference without explanation. Speculation held that postponement was intended to buy time to patch up the rift in the KPNLF leadership.

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"Son Sann's 'Secret Proposal.'" Bangkok World, 26 December 1985, p. 36. In FBIS (Asia & Pacific), 26 December 1985, p. H4.

Reports that Son Sann has advanced a new "secret proposal" for solving the KPNLF's internal conflict, the details of which have yet to be disclosed.

"U.S. Congressman Solarz Calls For KPNLF Unity." Agence France Presse (Hong Kong), Broadcast in English, 6 January 1986. In FBIS(Asia & Pacific), 6 January 1986, pp. H4, H5.

After meeting with U.S. Congressman Solarz, Son Sann states that the KPNLF must heal its rift in order to maintain international credibility. Although dissidents say they have deposed him, he maintains that he is still in charge.